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Takatu — white water
Tasawini — clear water (puristically: tasiyainye)
Teki — green (creek)
Turingbang — thundering noises from the ground (refe g to rumble of the river or of a rapids at this point)
Wanamu — large turtle
Waramaishuru — mokru creek
Yakaishuru — kasi fish creek
Korotoko — chicken
Haiari — a fish poison (*Lonchocarpus* sp.)

572 ●

Groups of Friends. Friendship is a strong factor in the social life of both men and women. Regardless of home, kinship, or settlement, individuals are often especially intimate with other individuals for no other reason than personal congeniality. For practical purposes this form of grouping often lies within the settlement, although I know of cases of men making rather extended tours to visit distant friends. There are always groups of men friends who go hunting together, who build canoes together, tell jokes together, and so on. The same sort of thing is true among the women, who, however, due to modified matrilocal marriage, tend to choose their friends from among their relatives to a greater extent than do the men. In the matters of lending, assistance in work, and sociability, friendship plays at least as large a functional part as does mere kinship, which, when it stands alone, implies for the most part, as among ourselves, rights and duties frequently less vital than those of friendship. The difference of course lies in the fact that friendships may be terminated when for any cause the congeniality essential to them disappears, whereas kinship ties exist in a stronger or weaker condition for life.

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The Kanaima Cult. One of the most intriguing forms of organization is the secret kanaima cult, which will be discussed in some detail in our section on Crime and Punishment. In some form or other it has been reported from many of the Indian tribes of Guiana, without reference to linguistic divisions. From the social point of view the membership of the cult, if such actually exists, represents an important, though perhaps temporary, division of the population, a group which is, however, outside the limits of nor-

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going to Towakaima to carry supplies for me back to Sawari. On the way to Towakaima he passed through Kurewa, made things up with his woman there, and during the rest of my stay in Sawari did not reappear. Caroline and her girls continued to live in the half-roofed house, doing their share of the field work, but depending for meat upon the efforts of Miller and Samuel.

Caroline and Elizabeth (the wife of Samuel) are not only sisters, but also great chums. Elizabeth is probably five years younger than Caroline, but both are buxom, lovers of a joke, and slightly lazy. They spend much of their time together, and their shrieking laughter can be heard almost any time of the day, if they are in the settlement, and late into the night. They are perfect foils for each other, Caroline loud and boisterous, Elizabeth quieter and cleverer. Few people I know consistently have as much fun together as Caroline and Elizabeth. Samuel, Elizabeth's husband, is her junior by perhaps ten years. He is shorter and considerably less bulky than she. Also he is quieter. But from all the signs, they are perfectly devoted to each other. Elizabeth has been living with Samuel more than a year. With them live her two little girls, Katrina and Mary , aged about five and seven respectively, children of her first (deceased) husband.

Samuel's brother Columbus has his own house on the other side of Miller's establishment. He lives with Susan, a young girl not yet come to puberty. Susan receives help from the women of Miller's household in cooking and field work, in return for which Columbus assists Miller in field cutting, korial building, and shares his game with Miller's household.

Separated by a hedge of cotton bushes from the afore-mentioned households, stand the houses of David, his son Joseph; his son-in-law Joseph, and his wife's sister Margaret, on the north side of the clearing. David is an old man possibly of sixty years who enjoys the double distinction of being the father-in-law of Miller and the piaiyen (or priest) of the village. He is also distinguished in the possession of a withered right arm, perhaps the result of early paralysis. (He says that he cannot remember a time when this arm was as large as the left one.) He has never been renowned for his physical strength or hunting ability, but is the village repository for such myths and legends as are extant in the group. For his learning and religious powers he is much respected.

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no definite lines. Thus, during my stay in the settlement John Cook and his brother Daniel built a woodskin together: sometime later Edwin and Henry Daniel co-operated in the building of a cassiri kanu (or barrel); David's son-in-law, Joseph, on the other hand, constructed a korial (dugout canoe) single handed. 476

The only house built during my stay was the half-completed structure begun by Henry (husband of Caroline. In this task he did most of the work, assisted somewhat by Samuel, the husband of Caroline's chum and sister, Elizabeth.

Thus we see that economic status and co-operative effort have little connection with social differentiation in Sawari. 182

Economic opportunity, on the other hand, may be said to be a factor in the unifying of a settlement. John Cook and Henry (Caroline's husband) are two examples of men to whom the fields, hunting grounds, and trade goods of Sawari appeared as attractions. Exhaustion of arable land or hunting territory will, conversely, tend to disintegrate a settlement. Although this has not occurred yet at Sawari, it is an important consideration in other cases, for instance, Korotoko, which was completely abandoned on account of the exhaustion of the soil.

Friendships. Friendships are closest between men of the same clearing. Indeed, this factor seems to be an important one originally in the local groupings, as already demonstrated. Within Miller's clearing, Samuel and Joseph (David's son-in-law) spend a good deal of time together. John Cook and his brother Daniel are close. Edwin and John (of Cook's settlement) often hunt together. Other friendships were not outstanding, with the exception of the one which sprang up between my interpreter and Samuel, both perfect strangers when they first met. On the basis of information gained from informants here and in other villages, I was unable to conclude that friendships rigidly follow either the lines of blood or of locality. As among ourselves, they are based on more or less complex personal factors, often imponderable, and as among ourselves, they vary in stability and intensity. Witness the crumbling of the friendship between Miller and Cook. In any case, friendship, so far as I was able to learn, implies no ritual or magical connection between the participants, nor does it take on the full solemnity and earnestness of a David and Johnathan relationship. Friends simply spend time together, some- 572

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572 times assist each other in work, sometimes hunt together, and enjoy each other's conversation and company.

572 621 Friendship is, however, a factor in the formation and stability of the settlement. Thus, Cook's original presence in Sawari was due to his friendship with Miller. A weakening of that relation gave rise to Cook's removal of his residence away from the near vicinity of Miller, the gathering of a group of families around him, and to the eventual rift between the two clearings. John's presence in Cook's settlement evidently is due simply to mutual liking on the parts of the two men. Edwin has a close friend named William in the settlement of Kurewa, and this friendship is doubtless to some extent responsible for the intermediate position which Edwin's family enjoys in the social life of Sawari.

I found no evidence that the friendships between women had any dynamic effect on social groupings in this settlement. Women's friends here, as elsewhere on the Barama, are the result of residence or contiguity determined by other factors.

561 **Age and Sex.** Well defined age groups are not present in Carib society. Girls are secluded at their first menstruation and are exhorted on the duties and conduct becoming to an adult woman by their older female relatives at this time, but without ceremony. This is the only special recognition taken of age changes. Nevertheless, as among all societies which do not formalize the age boundaries, informal recognition is taken of children, youths, adults, and old people.

895 583 Although not stated in so many words, an individual is not considered a full-fledged member of society until he is married. For instance, an underlying conception of this sort seems to motivate the proof of adulthood which is required of a man before the first marriage, and which takes the form of tests of fitness. (This seems at least as large a factor in the housebuilding, field-cutting, and hunting requirements demanded from the groom by his father-in-law as the factor of payment for the bride. Such tests are not required of a man at his subsequent marriages.) A woman's ability to care for a house and field, which is proven to the community after marriage, is apparently demanded before she is accepted as a full-fledged member of the female community. Also, both sexes assume certain responsibilities toward each other and toward the community at marriage (self-sustenance for their

175 628 Upper Barama seem to have been more frequent than contacts among the Carib settlements in the upper section of the Upper Barama. However, it is also apparent that the most immediate external contacts each group of settlements had were with each other.

In 1932-33, the frequency of contacts seems to have been relative to distance. That is, no specialized settlements are reported in respect to seasonal or other activities. All Carib settlements seem 175 361 [582] to have been much alike in their dependence on the rain forest. The bush resources relied upon include predominantly territorial animals and widely dispersed plant species. Desirable land for cultivation, a mixture of sand and clay on a hillside in close proximity to a permanent stream, was limited (Gillin 1936:14). As a consequence, settlements are widely scattered. Figure 7 depicts the dispersed nature of Carib settlements in the Upper Barama River area for this earlier time period. Realignments would occur with the relocation of settlements. After a number of years, a move might be made to more advantageous hunting and gathering and more fertile soil. Other cultural practices as well promoted this scattered, shifting pattern [586] of settlement. A divorce tended to result in the relocation of [572] individuals (Gillin 1936:79-80); the rupture of male friendships, in [775] the relocation of households (1936:136). Also, due to a belief in [768] the malevolent nature of a person's spirit, a clearing would be abandoned in the event of a death (Gillin 1936:165).

175 *177 361 Later, with the availability of external resources, settlements were no longer scattered solely along the Barama River corridor. Over time, a centralization of settlements developed in relationship

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